

621 kin shared the hero's lot in this way, I was given an incredible list
 783 extending, in some cases, to the above mentioned five removes —
 and on both the man's side and his wife's. Such wholesale purification would have disrupted the life of several villages but, on further inquiry, it appeared that those at a distance "felt the power would not reach so far." A second cousin, or even a third, living in the same village would "think it safer" to bathe and go saltless but a sister who was far away might take no precautions at all.

431 The same considerations applied to the gift giving. At the war
 602 purification an elaborate dance was performed by paid dancers, the pay being furnished by the hero's kin. There were no stated obligations." "If his father had nothing to give, an uncle might do it all." Or even a "distant uncle" if he lived near. The underlying idea seems to be that this payment was an investment in blessing. The hero, when he became a "ripe man" would enjoy a material success, either as a hunter or as a paid singer and his neighboring kin would naturally share in the proceeds. The one who had given most would be repaid accordingly.

621 We have pictured the geographic group, selected by circumstance
 602 and economic necessity, as the most important one. But the duties toward this group did not preclude relationships with other kin and these were kept up, often under great difficulties. Ties with the nearest kin, such as parents or children, were not allowed to lapse no matter what the distance and other relatives when they became neighbors, were immediately included in the gift giving circle. (I. 1. D; I. 4. B, I. 6. D. 2; I. 7. B. 2). But there was a general range of duties to be observed toward any class of relatives, geography permitting, and these may be taken up for each class separately.

593 SIBLING CLASS. Siblings were brought up in the same one-room
 857 house but a sex distinction began very early. Boys followed the men, learning to hunt and to till the ground, girls kept with the women, gathering food, fetching wood and water, grinding corn and making baskets. The fear of the menstruating woman caused a separation between the two groups so that even husband and wife were seldom together during the day. Boys played together and, when they wanted more companionship, sought out their male cousins who generally lived near. Girls formed a group with their female cousins.

543 Between brother and sister as between the remoter "siblings" of opposite sex, there was a mild respect relationship. No brother and sister would stay alone in the house at night or be seen out together. Any sister had a special duty to prepare food for her brother, even

GRANDPARENT CLASS. The four words for grandparent indicate an equal importance in all four individuals, subject to the determining factor of propinquity. The grandparents in the male line were normally the leaders and teachers of the whole family group, parents and children alike. The young parents were often away from home, on the active tasks of food getting and it was the grandparents who trained the children in crafts and in moral behavior. A Papago, in looking back on his early education, thinks not of his father but of his grandfather. The loss which would disrupt his home in early life would be that of grandparents, not parents.

The grandfather, in particular, was the moral mentor, talking to the children nightly and waking them before dawn with homilies on virtue and industry. It was he who recited the myths in the proper season and, if there was ritual knowledge to be passed down in the family, he often selected the grandson to receive it.

As the grandfather grew older, he benignantly abdicated his post of family head and the most energetic of his sons managed the family business. The grandfather now became the constant companion of the children and even at present, it is he who normally sits holding the baby while the younger members of the family are at work. When he grew older still, it was the grandchildren who waited on him while the parents did harder tasks. In rare cases where a grandfather happened not to live with the family group, children were detailed to stay with him.

Informant 23 lived in a village from which all his sons had moved away. When he grew too old to work his fields his grandsons in the male line were already grown and married. He rode to his daughter's house and asked for a boy to live with him. "She and her husband didn't say anything. They just told the boy: Get your things and go with your grandfather." Informant 43 was sent regularly during the dry season to live with her paternal grandfather's sister and fetch water for her from the spring a mile away.

The paternal grandmother directed the women of the home group, as the grandfather directed the men. Little girls generally slept on a mat with her and it was she who taught them cooking and basketry while their mothers were out food gathering. She cared for the children while their mother was in the segregation hut, at menstrual periods and childbirth. Moreover, a young father was sure to undergo several periods of ceremonial purification, during which his wife was secluded also. Then the grandmother cooked for the children, instructed them in behavior and gave them their ritual baths. She remained in the home group until her death and if, her husband died first, would be taken into the family of one of her sons where she would continue her duties (I. 5. B. 1; I. 1. A. 3).

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[855]

KNOWLEDGE AND TEACHING

- 868 Beside the crafts already mentioned, Papago knowledge included some techniques in counting, measuring and time reckoning. Any individual knew the measurements connected with his craft and those who had older relatives versed in history or star lore might pick up these also. But for a young person to question an older one was considered forward and discourteous so one desiring to learn merely haunted the society of an older relative until information was offered. If he had no relative with the desired knowledge, his chances of learning were small, since prolonged contacts with people outside the family were few.

COUNTING AND MEASURING

- 802 Papago has words for the numbers up to ten; the one for ten
211 definitely meaning "all the fingers". Other numbers are expressed as multiples of ten. For 100, the Spanish word *cien* is used. The Papago, in ancient times, rarely counted as high as this, nor had they a word for it. The expression which indicated counting was "to cut the notches" or "to lay down the sticks". This was done when making an appointment more than the ritual four days ahead. Ten, twelve or sixteen were the usual numbers, indicated by a stick with the proper number of notches or a bundle of small sticks. The recipient marked off a notch every day until the proper time or stood the sticks up in a row and laid one down each day.

- 802 In scoring for games, the Papago, according to Culin, used as
211 much as 100 grains of corn¹ but they need not count to 100. Both
524 sides drew from a common pile, uncounted and, when this was exhausted, played until one side had acquired all the corn of the other. In this way, even several hundred grains could be used without the necessity of naming the numbers.

- 802 Another occasion for counting was when one village "sang for"
211 another and every householder among the singers had to receive a gift. On the night before the ceremony, the singers sent to their hosts a bundle of sticks representing the household heads in their party who might be as many as thirty or forty. However, they were not necessarily counted. The messenger connected a name with each stick and in the council meeting of the hosts, he held the sticks

¹ Culin, p. 354.

355 important rite to stop an epidemic, mentioned how a group of children followed the shaman and clutched at his paraphernalia. "We don't mind those things. We know the children don't understand." At the dance around the enemy trophy where, if ever, fierceness is to be expected, several of the songs are concerned with Elder Brother's directions to mothers for lulling the babies who are tired with the dancing.

At present, when there is no hiding from the enemy, there is little in Papago daily life which demands the subduing of children. Nothing in the hut is breakable. There are two or three pots in the outdoor kitchen and some tools hanging from the roof out of reach. Otherwise, the child may feel quite as free in his surroundings as the adult. Since noise from the child does not shame the adult in public, as it would in our culture, there is little occasion for rebuke.

857 Children made a very matter-of-course entry into adult duties. 868 There was so much to do that as soon as a child was able to do anything whatever, he was allowed to do it. The writer saw an interesting example of training in this respect. A family and its guests were gathered in a hut on a cold night and the door was open. The person nearest the door and unoccupied was a three year old child. One of the men guests, a very distant relative, said to the child, "Close the door." The door was heavy and the sill high. The child made an attempt and then stopped. The man repeated smiling, "Close the door." The child moved it a few inches and started to cry. No one sympathized with him. The quiet direction, "Close the door," continued until he had moved it a few inches at a time and finally finished the task. There was no clamor of approval and petting. The child had done his part of the evening's work and came back to the fire with the rest.

Children were graduated from this sort of task to that of running errands and especially carrying gifts of food, often for long distances. As soon as they could manage the distance, girls followed their mothers on food gathering expeditions and boys followed their fathers hunting. When a girl was ten years old, she might be grinding all the corn for the family and a boy might be shooting the jackrabbits for their food. At fourteen a girl should be a fully qualified housekeeper, since she was nearly ready for marriage. A boy should be a swift runner and attending the council whence he might be sent out as messenger, though not on important occasions. He would be only beginning his training as a warrior and a hunter. Though he married later than the girl, this training might continue some time after marriage.

600 In spite of their freedom as children, young people were expected,

In spite of their freedom as ^{Youth} children, young people were expected, ¹⁶¹ 882

as they grew up, to be extremely modest and retiring. Girls, after the age of ten, hardly spoke to a man unless he were a relative and then only to offer him food. If a stranger approached the house, they ran out and hid. Since the women did most of their work in large groups, a girl was always completely surrounded and protected.

Boys also were expected to be retiring. As has been mentioned, they did not speak in the meeting until they were mature men: their part was to do the work in silence. No young man ever interrupted an elder. The following typical conversation took place with a young interpreter who had been asked to question an old informant: "Did you ask him (the informant) thus and so?" "I tried to, but he wanted to talk about something else." In such a situation the young man, though paid to ask questions, was powerless.

The writer has several times been told by Papagos, apropos of working for the Whites: "But our young men cannot go out and approach people as yours do. They are taught to be bashful."

Young people were ceaselessly trained in the moral code (see p. 80), ⁸⁶⁷ whose principal tenets were industry, fortitude and swiftness of foot. ⁵⁷⁷ Industry was a woman's virtue, without which no girl could hope to be kept as a wife. Fortitude was a virtue of both sexes and Papago life, which was so frequently on the verge of starvation, brought it to the foreground. The augury on all auspicious occasions was: "You will be hunger-enduring, thirst-enduring, cold-enduring." A man undergoing purification for any reason, voluntarily endured these three hardships and boys were urged to practise them regularly on the Spartan principle that one who was slightly hungry and thirsty all the time would not feel the privation in a crisis. There seems no doubt that the Papago were brave in battle, but aggressive courage is never praised in their poetry. All the emotion is called forth on the theme of enduring hardship.

Speed in running might almost be called the root of all virtue. ⁸⁶⁸ The life of these nomads in flat, open desert country was based ⁴⁸¹ on covering long distances. Women were taught to run with the carrying basket, men ran on the hunt and on the warpath. A young man who could not run was nearly useless. Therefore, running came to mean in Papago parlance the mark of an admirable man and the thing which drew to him the attention of the supernaturals. The following admonition by a father to his sons is on this theme:

"Listen well to this talk. To all of it listen! Look well at my mouth. Keep looking and you will learn. Thus I say to you, that this night, while darkness covers us, you are not to sleep early in the evening. You are to listen to me.

•868
481 Perhaps some time in the night, something will arrive. Then if you are a good runner, you will jump up, you will run (after it). Early in the morning you will get up. Far over there (down to the west) you will sit and will listen for something. You will run over there and something which is good-luck-bringing will meet you: a coyote, an eagle, a hawk. Then you will be a fast runner. You will be a good hunter.

You should run constantly, no matter how much hardship it means; even if you are thirsty, hungry, tired. Then truly this will happen to you. You will throw yourself down repeatedly (worn out). Then there will come a hawk, an eagle, a mountain lion, a jaguar, a bear, and will tell you how to follow something alive (game) and to kill it.

Then when you come back after much running, they will put before you the clay dish. Then you will merely sit and look at it. Even perchance it will speak thus to you, "Go to! Eat me!" Do not eat it until a scum has formed on it. If you eat it before a scum has formed, you will have wrinkles. If you eat but a little, you will be a lean man. You will be light. You will be a fast runner. If you eat much, you will be fat. You will be much wrinkled; you will not be a runner." (1)

[77] This short sermon, delivered by a parent, was a regular pattern with the Papagos and recalls the admonitions delivered by the Aztecs to their children, as reported in Sahagun.¹

867 There was no rigid form of words for such talks but, as in the speech at the men's meeting, the moral code must be gone over and over until, in modern phraseology, the youth's reactions were fully conditioned. The father was generally the speaker, though the mother might take her turn, especially with the girls. The time chosen was when the family were all lying in the dark on their sleeping mats, sometimes at night, more often in the hour before dawn. There was a special method of speaking: a low, insistent monotone. As one informant said, "You thought you were still asleep. You thought you were hearing that voice in your dreams" (26). As the writer has heard these speeches recited, they have an effect which is almost hypnotic.

"Open your ears, for I am telling you a good thing. Wake and listen. Open your ears. Let my words enter them. Wake up and listen.

You boys, you should go out and run. So you will be swift in time of war. You girls, you should grind the corn. So you will feed the men that they may fight the enemy. You should practise running. So in time of war you may save your lives. Wake up. Do not be idle." (26)

¹ Sahagun, F p. 384-390.

x₁₅₉ never tasted anything like it. Wheat flour makes me sick! I think it has
 352 no strength. But when I am weak, when I am tired, my grandchildren
 262 make me gruel out of the wild seeds. That is food.

x₁₅₉ I used to help my mother. When I was very little I began to grind the
 868 seeds, just for a short time. When I was ten years old I did it all, for then
 a daughter should be able to take over the work and let her mother sit
 down to baskets. But I am telling you about the early days when I could
 only grind a little. Then we pulled the grinding slab inside the house by the
 fire and my mother knelt behind it. I picked the dirt out of the seeds and
 handed them to her, and the pot boiled on the hearth on the three stones
 that we kept there.

x₁₅₉ My father was very busy, for he was the chief of our village. People
 622 used to bring their quarrels to him, and I remember him sitting crosslegged
 under the arbor we had to keep off the sun, listening with his head bent
 and his arms folded, while people talked.

[624] "My daughter disappeared with a man on the last night of the maiden's
 dance. I want her beaten." "How many stripes?" "Twenty." "Fifteen,"
 said my father. He was a gay man who liked to war and to gamble. He did
 not like to beat women.

x₁₅₉ Some days nobody would come, and then he would gamble with the
 525 other men, throwing the sticks that we use for dice, and then moving
 523 stones around a circle as many moves as there were marks on the stick.
 We used to hear the men singing in a low tone, before they threw, to give
 them luck:

[797] Down I shall throw
 The smooth stone I shall move
 Move it to the corner.

x₁₅₉ They smoked, too, and I can smell their tobacco yet, the strong wild
 276 tobacco that we do not have any more. It was tied in a long corn husk, so
 white, so nice, and when one man passed it to another he said: "Friend!"
 And the other said, "Friend."

x₁₅₉ When the sun was high, high, my brothers and my sister came home,
 593 and as each one came my mother gave them food. She dipped the gruel
 264 out of the pot into a bowl, for my mother was a good potter. We all had
 bowls in our house. Only my father and my mother ate out of the same
 one laughing together, because they liked each other. When my mother
 dipped out our food she said: "Do not eat it hot. You will have wrinkles."
 She set mine on the grinding slab to cool. "It will make you industrious,"
 my mother said. My father said to the boys: "Do not eat it hot, no matter

THE DESERT PEOPLE

596 seldom asked to do so, but neglect of this obligation soon becomes known, and
464 the offender is severely censured by persons outside the household.

423 Just as each family member does his share toward maintaining the group,
428 so each has an interest in the means of subsistence. As previously noted, all
596 land belongs to the tribe, and families are allowed to use as much as they need
on assignment by the village or district council. Fields ordinarily continue to
be used by the same family after the death of its head. All the sons inherit
equally, sometimes without division. Thus, ideally, all family members, even
though they are not living with the group, are entitled to use these fields as
needed, but nowadays there are occasional difficulties when absent members
wish to return to the land.

422 Cattle and horses are individually owned, although those belonging to
428 various members of the family are usually herded together. Each family has
its own brand, some small difference in the mark designating individual
ownership. The head of the house may give certain animals to each of his
children as they grow up, but on his death the main herd usually goes to the
new head of the house unless other arrangements had been made. The tribal
code of laws has provisions for wills after the white fashion, and a dispute over
inheritance can be brought before the tribal court if no amicable settlement
can be made otherwise.

231 The strong attachment of the Papago to their fields doubtless dates from
368 tribal prehistory, but cattle and horses have also become highly important since
[191] their acquisition from whites. The active life of many a Papago man centers
in his horses and cattle, and they are the first interest of all little boys. In early
childhood a boy begins to swing a rope and lasso stumps, piles of bedding,
chickens, and dogs. He runs at a gallop, putting himself as he would a horse,
or seizes a stick and canters off. Later he learns to ride, drive the horses to
water, and take the reins of the family wagon. He breathes in the excitement
of roping and throwing and learns to distinguish brands. Very early he knows
which animals in the family herd belong to him, and he sells a steer in his turn
when the family needs money. Finally, he is allowed to take part in roundups,
to sleep out with the men, to listen to stories around the campfire under the
clear stars. He is particularly proud of his horses; he knows that people will
regard him with respect because he owns them.

231 Horses, rather than cattle, are the prestige animals. They are often of little
economic value, at least in the numbers now owned by the Papago, for many
more are kept than can be used in farm and range work, and a recent epidemic
of dourine has prevented the sale of horses for any use but slaughter. A Papago
does not ordinarily know exactly how many head of cattle he has, but he

THE CHILD FROM FIVE TO TEN

year-old can also claim indulgence as a young child, and, though older children and adults have control over him, they are obliged to please him so far as is compatible with the general welfare of the household. 867
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Use here of the words "rule" and "principle" in describing authority among the Papago does not imply a rigid set of laws which the child must learn as he learns that two and two make four; the child is not taught proper behavior by having authority explained to him. He is occasionally reminded that a baby must always be satisfied and that children must always mind their elders, but the child learns chiefly by observation and imitation how to make his control over younger children palatable and how to appeal to adults when older children frustrate him. 867

Certain ideals of Papago behavior are, however, made explicit for the benefit of children. In the evening when the family is gathered together, the grandfather or other adult speaks often and at length on the virtues of industry, honesty, and kindness. In this desert land, where everyone must work together in order to live, an important part of child-training is the emphasis on working hard and on getting along well with other people. Boys and girls are constantly warned to avoid squabbles, and quarreling children are separated and roundly scolded. Adults say, "We tell them to be kind to people and not to quarrel." To the Papago kindness appears to mean the antithesis of quarrelsomeness. It is tolerance, good nature, and respect for other people's rights rather than active benevolence. To instill these desirable qualities, the elders moralize at length, for extensive oral argument is a recognized and conscious method of child-training in this age period and the next. 867
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LEARNING TO BE WORKERS

Most Papago children begin to share in the work of the family about the time they enter the five-to-ten age group. As noted in the previous chapter, a young girl's play group may be charged with care of the baby while his mother is busy with other tasks. A little girl may be sent to fetch things needed from the house or storeroom for the women working under the ramada. She may bring water from the *charco* or pump and wood from the woodpile, and at this time she learns a few housekeeping chores—sweeping, rolling up bedding for the day, washing dishes, setting the table. An unusually capable girl may begin to assist with cooking or laundry by the time she is ten. 868

Boys in this age group are much more free to do as they please, particularly if they have sisters to help with the household chores. They seldom help with the smaller children unless no female is available, and, though they run errands, fetch water, and chop wood, little else is asked of them. Loitering about the

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- 868 fields during planting or harvest, they doubtless learn something of agricultural procedures. However, a few boys who are exceptionally large and strong have a regular share of the farm work by the time they are ten.

The precise age at which a boy or girl begins to assume regular duties varies according to his own inclination and the family situation. The Papago believe that, just as the baby learns to walk and talk when he is ready, the older child will learn to work and need not be mercilessly prodded. Some families who feel that their children should become industrious at an early age carry on the training more intensively. Others are impelled to do so by the need for additional help in a short-handed household.

- 861 Characteristically, Papago children learn mainly by imitation, without explanation by adults and without asking many questions. As mentioned in chapter i, direct question and answer is not the Papago way of acquiring or giving information; hence the Papago child is not encouraged to ask how to do things. For example, in learning to cook, the little girl tries to do what she has seen her mother doing. Adults give little, if any, assistance to the novice, but they watch her closely and make it clear that they are pleased if she succeeds. Direct praise, however, is seldom given.

- [885] Though the Papago do not tell the child *how* to do things, they explain at length *why* he should do them. They impress upon him that only by willing obedience can he become an honest, industrious, and kind man—the sort of person who is respected in Papago society. To get a child to do as they wish, parents say that they “just talk to him, and he does it.” If he fails to comply, they lecture him further, tell him people will think he is lazy, or “talk hard” (acold). Beyond this, most parents say that they “do nothing.” One mother expressed some irritation by saying, “What can I do? He runs away in the brush!” Such behavior provokes adults to momentary exasperation, but continued evasion does not heap adverse judgment on the guilty one or cause his parents alarm; he is still a child, and his disobedience is excusable on that basis. The most adults do to remind him of his shortcomings is to contrast his behavior with another child’s: “Dorothy is good help all the time. Even if she’s smaller, she’s better help than Helen. I don’t know why Helen doesn’t like housework.” By and large, however, children do their share of the work and do it without much pressure.

PLAY ACTIVITIES

- 857 As he nears ten, the Papago child’s leisure time gradually decreases, for the increasing number of younger children pushes him more and more into a supervisory role. Though he begins to be a working member of the family

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463 bricklayers, nurses, secretaries, clerks, typists, truck drivers and the like.

About 41 percent of the skilled and semi-skilled workers, excluding the self-employed, work on the reservation mostly for the federal agencies and the tribe.

[464] Papago Indians, provided they have equal skill, are given employment preference for reservation jobs and it is obvious that they take advantage of this opportunity. Experience thus gained, is, of course, of great advantage to the individual should he desire to seek employment off the reservation.

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555 In the process of Papago economic adjustment this group of skilled and semi-skilled workers are of special importance. These are the individuals who are up-grading their employment position; who have moved from routine clerical jobs to secretarial jobs, from cotton picking to tractor driving, and from common labor to an assembly line. Their children, in most cases, are learning English at home, acquiring a better education than the average and, in the end, they will constitute a large enough group of trained and educated Papagos to assume a responsible position in the development of both natural and human resources on the reservations.

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464 From the point of view of understanding the employment picture, however, the problem of seasonal and temporary employment must be dealt with. We account for seasonal and temporary employment as follows:

Individuals with mixed employment	111
Unskilled agricultural workers on and off the reservations	294
Unskilled seasonal agricultural workers off the reservations	422
Self-employed farmers and stock raisers on the reservations who rely on supplementary wage work	239*
Off reservation wage workers in domestic and service employment. Temporary workers estimated at	240**

*Thirty of the 239 reservation agricultural workers are estimated to be employed full time.

**This group of 240 is derived from the 483 categorized as off-reservation "domestic and service" workers (See Table 18).

Papago women and this is probably due, as might be expected, to the lack of education found among the women who must support themselves or help support their families in seasonal agricultural work. Women engaged in non-agricultural wage work, which includes the women who work as domestics, are the best educated.

Employment and Age. The significant age differences in employment are given in Table 22. Contrary to heretofore inconclusive evidence, Papagos under forty hold more jobs in off-reservation wage work (agriculture and non-agriculture) in proportion to their numbers than do the older men. The unemployed, however, are definitely younger men: 6.3% as compared to 4.0%. Unearned income (usually welfare) goes to the older people, 17.6% as against 2.4%. There is little or no sex difference in this category.

There is a very high proportion of Papagos over 65 who are receiving unearned income (usually Old Age Assistance): 206 out of a total of 343 (57%).

Table 22. Papago Administrative Population
Employment by Age. Individuals 19
Years and Over, 1959.

Type of Employment or Income	Under Forty			Over Forty		
	Total	Number	%	Total	Number	%
Reservation Agriculture	2540	113	4.5	1907	123	6.1
Reservation Wage Work	2540	72	2.8	1907	46	2.4
Off Reservation Wages	2540	1065	41.9	1907	634	33.2
Unemployed	2540	160	6.3	1907	77	4.0
Unearned Income	2540	60	2.4	1907	335	17.6

Employment and Origin. In addition to a low average education, the Papago labor force has the added disadvantage of little or no childhood experience in areas where young people normally have a wide variety of jobs. Approximately 64% of the present Papago labor force originated on the three reservations where opportunities for earning money at odd jobs are practically non-existent. Boys and girls on the reservations, of course, help their families in the home and on

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868 the farm or range, but this is far different from the training received when young people work for strangers. The 14% that originated off the reservation reflect this, and other advantages in the nature of the jobs they hold (see table 23).

[463] They have 16% of the permanent agricultural jobs, 19% of unskilled wage work and 37% of the skilled wage work.

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464 Table 23. Papago Administrative Population. Comparison of Types of Employment by Origin. Individuals 19 and Over, 1959.

Types of Employment	Origin On Reservation		Origin Off Reservation	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
ON RESERVATION				
Agricultural	273	96%	11	4%
Non-Agricultural Wage Work	152	91	15	9
Other	32	94	2	6
Housewives	511	93	37	7
Unearned Income	306	95	15	5
Unemployed	171	98	3	2
ON AND OFF RESERVATION				
Agriculture on, Seasonal				
Agric. Wage Work off	287	98	7	2
Other	41	100	0	
OFF RESERVATION				
Agricultural Wage Work				
Seasonal	361	92	33	8
Permanent	353	82	76	18
Non-Agricultural Wage Work				
Unskilled	645	81	151	19
Skilled	47	63	28	37
Housewives	376	72	150	28
Unearned Income	21	72	9	28
Students	117	71	48	29
Unemployed	57	71	23	29
TOTAL	3770	86	607	14

Total with origin unknown 64. Total with employment unknown 495.
Total with both origin and employment unknown 395.

463 support this inference. Seventeen crew leaders were interviewed. Only one
464 reported using Indians less frequently than formerly. All the rest have either
observed no trend, are using Indians the same or are using them more. Five of
the 17 reporting said they are using them more.

464 There are, of course, certain obvious factors inherent in this kind of
197 work pattern which are compatible to general Indian and Papago Indian participation
829 The worker can enter and withdraw at will without obligating himself to become
integrated into Anglo society. The family and village pattern can remain intact.
Income tax and social security, in fact, the whole Anglo pay check complex is in
most cases avoided. Language barriers are made insignificant, and the standardized
relationships within the extended family are most usefully employed to get work
through word of mouth communications. The upshot is that this kind of work,
though not as rewarding financially as other kinds of work, is least disruptive
of folk patterns.

464 Conversely, the advantages of Indians to crew leaders are quite simply
that, relative to other domestic seasonal workers, they are dependable, available,
and exploitable.

Direct Temporary Farm Jobs. The high utilization (67%) of Papagos as
temporary farm workers (as opposed to seasonal) is of significance in two
[467] directions. It indicates, first of all, that Papagos are willing to take this
kind of work and that farm managers seeking temporary employees depend upon the
Papago labor pool. More significant for the Papagos is the opportunity they thus
[88] gain for training in all types of farm work, including the operation of farm
[197] machinery. Potential benefits, in fact, carry beyond the limits of farm work
since the nature of the employment (as contrasted with seasonal work under a crew
leader) involves direct and intimate experience with an Anglo employer and all the
463 complexities of wage work employment. The Papagos are obviously well started in